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STATEMENT

of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on President Nixon's November 3, 1969 Address on the Viet Nam Problem

IN his November 3 address, President Nixon stated that his policy on the Viet Nam problem consisted in "seeking peace" through the "Vietnamization" of the war.

This was a glaring expression of the policy of war and aggression followed by the US imperialists to achieve world hegemony, play its odious role as an international gendarme, and suppress the national liberation movement. This reactionary policy runs totally counter to the general trend of the present times. It has therefore been sternly condemned by the peoples of the world who are determined to defeat it.

The so-called "change in policy" on the battlefield and at the conference table which Mr. Nixon profusely extolled simply means intensification of the war, attempts to cling on to South Viet Nam, and to prevent the Paris Conference from reaching a sound solution of the Viet Nam problem.

Everybody clearly sees that President Nixon does not want to put an end to the war, but to "Vietnamize" it, that is to use Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese for the selfish interests of the US warmongers. In order to consolidate the South Viet Nam puppet army and administration for the purpose of realizing the "Vietnamization" plan, the United States chooses to withdraw its troops by driblets without fixing a time-limit for their total withdrawal; in other words, it will indefinitely prolong the war. The United States has declared that it will withdraw only its ground combat forces, that is only part of the US forces, while the remaining is to stay on for prolonged occupation of South Viet Nam. The Nixon Administration has been trying to "exert maximum military pressure" in order to secure a "position of strength" in the negotiation; it has laid down conditions for the withdrawal of its troops. It has opposed the formation of a broadly representative Provisional Coalition Government. It has demanded that it be left to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique known for their totalitarian and warlike tendencies the organization of obviously faked general elections at the point of the guns of the US-puppets.

In a word, President Nixon's November 3 address was a speech of war, his "plan for peace" a trick to prolong the war. This was a challenge to the Vietnamese people, and to the peoples of the world and the progressive people of the United States who have been pressing that the Nixon Administration stop its aggression in Viet Nam.

President Nixon resorted to tendentious and sophistical reasoning to distort the truth on the origin of the Viet Nam war and on the state of the negotiations in an attempt to make the public believe in his "goodwill". But as is known to everyone, the US imperialists have systematically sabotaged the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam over the past fifteen years, they have committed troops to an aggression in South Viet Nam and bombed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. US intervention and aggression is obviously the cause of the present serious situation in Viet Nam. President Nixon's policy is to continue the war of aggression, and not to seek a political settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

No amount of speciousness and equivocation can conceal the obstinate position of the Nixon Administration. The more obdurate and bellicose this administration, the heavier its defeats.

Imbued with President HO CHI MINH's teaching—"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", the Vietnamese people, united as one man, are resolved to carry out his Testament, to persist in, and step up, their fight, fearless of sacrifices and hardships till the attainment of their fundamental national rights. No force can shake their iron-like determination! No threat can deflect them from their lofty objectives!

For the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, the peoples of the world will certainly strengthen their solidarity with the Vietnamese people, and strive shoulder to shoulder to frustrate the Nixon Administration's policy of aggression and neo-colonialism.

Any correct solution to the Viet Nam problem must be based on respect for the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the people of South Viet Nam. As the aggressor, the United States must put an end to its aggression, withdraw totally and unconditionally from South Viet Nam its troops and those of the foreign countries belonging to its camp; it must give up its attempts to maintain the puppet administration; and let the people of South Viet Nam settle themselves their own affairs without any foreign interference. Such is the spirit of the 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. This logical and reasonable solution opens the right way to a settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

The Vietnamese people hail Americans of conscience who, for the sake of peace, justice and the true interests of their people, have courageously denounced the plans for prolonging the war in Viet Nam and firmly urged a quick and total withdrawal of US troops from South Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam call on the Governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, those of peace- and justice-loving countries, the international organizations and the people of the whole world to increase their support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression, for national salvation.

Hanoi, November 6, 1969

President HO CHI MINH's REPLY TO US President Nixon's Letter

On November 6, 1969, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement criticizing the November 3, 1969 speech of US President Nixon. After strongly condemning the Nixon Administration's obdurate continuation and intensification of the war of aggression in South Viet Nam and perfidious tricks to deceive US and world public opinion, the statement reaffirmed the just position of the Vietnamese people in the settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

On this occasion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam makes public the undated letter of US President Nixon to President HO CHI MINH (page 2) *and President HO CHI MINH's reply of August 25, 1969 to supply public opinion with better information about the positions of the two sides.*

Hanoi, August 25, 1969

To His Excellency Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States

Washington

Mr. President:

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter.

The war of aggression of the United States against our people, violating our fundamental national rights, still drags on in South Viet Nam. The United States continues to intensify military operations, B-52 bombings and use of toxic chemicals, multiplying crimes against the Vietnamese people. The longer the war goes on, the more it accumulates mourning and burdens on the American people. I am extremely indignant at the losses and destruction caused by the US troops to our people and our country; I am also deeply concerned over the rising battle toll of young Americans who die uselessly in Viet Nam for the policy of the US ruling circles.

Our Vietnamese people deeply love peace, a genuine peace in real independence and freedom. They are determined to fight to the end, fearless of sacrifices and difficulties in order to defend their Fatherland and their sacred national rights. The 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is a logical and reasonable basis for the settlement of the Viet Nam problem. It has enlisted the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world.

In your letter, you have expressed the desire to work for a just peace. For this, the United States must stop the war of aggression and withdraw its troops from South Viet Nam, respect the right of the people of the South and of the Vietnamese nation to self-determination, without foreign interference. This is the correct way of solving the Viet Nam problem in conformity with the national rights of the Vietnamese people, the interests of the United States and the aspirations for peace of the peoples of the world. This is an honourable way for the United States to get out of the war.

With good will on both sides, we can join efforts to find a fair solution to the Viet Nam problem.

Sincerely,

HO CHI MINH

41st Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (November 6, 1969)

Mr XUAN THUY and Mme NGUYEN THI BINH:

Mr Nixon's November 3 Speech Is a "Talk Peace, Make War" Pronouncement

A penetrating appraisal of President Nixon's Nov. 3 speech was made by representatives of the Vietnamese people, Ministers Xuan Thuy of the DRVN, and Nguyen Thi Binh, of the PRG of the RSVN, at the 41st session of the Paris Conference.

They pointed out that the pronouncement had bared the pertinacy of the Nixon administration in pursuing neo-colonialist purposes in South Viet Nam. Its "Vietnamizing the war" program simply means continuation of the war under another form. In fact, it is keeping up its "maximum military pressure" in South Viet Nam; whereas in the four years of the Johnson administration the US dropped on both zones of Viet Nam 2,800,000 tons of bombs, in the first 9 months of the new administration the quantity of bombs used in South Viet Nam reached 1,200,000 tons. B.52 planes monthly dumped there 30,000 tons of bombs under the former administration and 42,000 tons under the latter.

The DRVN and PRG envoys rejected Nixon's allegation that his Vietnamization policy would make it possible for the US to improve its military situation and reduce its battle losses. In fact, the situation is deteriorating for the aggressors and since Mr Nixon's advent to power, 17,000 GIs and satellite troops have been killed or wounded on the South Viet Nam battlefield.

With regard to Nixon's troop withdrawal plan, the representatives of fighting Viet Nam dismissed the American president's refusal to make public the pull-out timetable on the ground that this would prejudice the progress of the Paris Conference as an equivocation to conceal the US design to go on with its aggression and to reduce its troop strength by dribblets only. In his Nov. 3 speech, Mr Nixon referred solely to the cutback of combat troops and was reticent on that of other kinds of troops: this exposed his intention to keep South Viet Nam under military control for an indefinite period.

Mr Xuan Thuy and Mme Nguyen Thi Binh were strongly critical of Mr Nixon's maintaining against wind and tide the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique of puppets: such an effort is a flat denial of his professed "respect for the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination."

The DRVN chief negotiator flayed Mr Nixon's initiative in publishing his personal message to President Ho Chi Minh and the latter's reply and in revealing at the same time the existence of private talks between representatives of the US and the DRVN as a move to make public opinion believe that he had left no stone unturned to work for a settlement and if the latter was not forthcoming, he was not to be blamed. Mr Xuan Thuy said that, as in private talks or in public conversations the US side has always been clinging to its neo-colonialist position and setting its face against the ten-point overall solution of the NFL and PRG, all these discussions had yielded no result. The form of conversation does not matter, Mr Xuan Thuy stressed. What matters is whether the US rulers are inclined to respect the independence and self-determination right of the Vietnamese people.

The DRVN and PRG representatives also reaffirmed the friendship of the Vietnamese people for the American people. The Vietnamese people do not ask the US to capitulate, as Mr Nixon has claimed. What they want is only withdrawal of the GIs committed to South Viet Nam in an aggression decided by the men in Washington. The honour of the US has nothing to do with this immoral war nor with the rotten Saigon puppet regime. The Vietnamese people warmly hail the campaign of the Americans of all walks of life for an end to the war and repatriation of American servicemen, Mr Xuan Thuy and Mme Nguyen Thi Binh concluded.

A SPEECH WITH AN ULTERIOR MOTIVE

DESIGNED to soothe a public opinion at home which is being roused against the continuation of the Viet Nam war, President Nixon's Nov. 3 speech, delivered after 3 weeks of ballyhoo, was received with the greatest disappointment by broad segments of the American people.

What the American nation demands is an immediate end by the Nixon administration to the illegal, immoral and disastrous war in Viet Nam, and a prompt repatriation of American boys sent to a senseless death thousands of miles far away. None of such things could be found in the President's speech. He repeated the same falsifications of history as his predecessor L.B. Johnson used to, used the same sophistries and almost the same rhetoric (compare: "Everything is negotiable except the right of the people of South Viet Nam to determine their own future" and: "We have put everything into the basket of peace except the surrender of South Viet Nam" in the State Department paper in January 1966) in order to reach the same goal: to turn South Viet Nam into a new-type colony and military base of the United States. And for the attainment of this unchanged aim, Mr Nixon in his speech reasserted the same means: "Vietnamization" (which was called "de-Americanization" during the last days of Mr Johnson's term of office) of the war; military occupation of South Viet Nam by more or less big contingents of American expeditionary troops for an indefinite duration and application of "maximun military pressure" (which tactics was renamed "protective reaction" but remained the same in its essence); and reliance on the Saigon puppet administration whose survival depends uniquely on US bayonets and dollars.

The leaders of the Moratorium in the United States are entirely correct in saying that Mr Nixon's is a "war speech", not a "peace speech."

And they are also right in terming this speech an "insult to the intelligence of the American people."

Mr Nixon wanted to play on the chauvinistic cord of his fellow-countrymen in referring to so-called "defeat" and "humiliation" of the United States in case American troops would have to be pulled out of South Viet Nam in a way different from what is now being done under his own arrangement, that is a piece-meal withdrawal to be achieved according to conditions fixed by the Pentagon, so as to leave behind for good in South Viet Nam some hundreds of thousands of GIs to "support" the Saigon puppet army! Mr Nixon may well read the following demand formulated by the American people as has appeared in an advertisement carried in the Nov. 2 issue of *New York Times*: "We want to hear him (the President) say stop. We want to hear him say that our boys are coming home. Every one of them. Home on our ships and our planes. And now. Not to morrow. Not the day after. Now."

Mr Nixon wanted to make it plain that he had done everything possible to arrive at a negotiated settlement in Viet Nam, including the recourse to secret negotiations and communications "at the summit" and that if such a settlement is still far off, responsibility does not rest with the President of the United States. Everybody, including Americans, however, is well aware that so long as Mr Nixon and his advisers hold on to his absurd claims, such as "mutual troop withdrawal" and "elections" under the aegis of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem puppet administration, and so long as they obstinately refuse to take into serious consideration the 10-point overall solution put forward by the South Viet Nam NFL and Provisional Revolutionary Government, no progress is to be expected in negotiations, whether those are public or secret, at ministerial level or at higher one. What is in substance the proposals offered by those bodies representing the South Viet Nam people? They say *firstly* that as the United States has committed an aggression against South Viet Nam, it should withdraw all its troops without asking for anything in return, it being understood that the problem of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam is the concern only of Vietnamese parties. They say *secondly* that the holding of general elections in South Viet Nam will be entrusted to a provisional coalition government issued from consultations between South Viet Nam political groupings and personalities standing for independence, peace and neutrality. Can there be more sensible proposals, which better guarantee the interests of the South Vietnamese people and at the same time the honour of the American nation? However those proposals have not been fortunate enough to please Mr Nixon whose neo-colonialist desires are but all the more transparent!

An "insult to the intelligence of the American people", the US President's Nov. 3 speech is also a challenge to them. They wanted the war to end, but the President "has not got the message" and he "intended to continue the war" (statement by Dave Hawk, one of the coordinators of the Viet Nam Moratorium Committee).

But the American people will certainly accept their President's challenge, and "people perhaps who are uncertain they would come here (for anti-war demonstrations) are now convinced that the only way they can have any effect is to come here" (statement by Ted Johnson, a leader of the new MOBE—or Mobilisation Committee to end the war in Viet Nam).

As for the people of Viet Nam—both North and South—while following with admiration the courageous fight put up by the American people against Nixon's shameful war, they will keep to the course charted by their venerated President Ho Chi Minh: to struggle with firmness and perseverance, to struggle until the complete fulfilment of their national rights. No matter what Mr Nixon's threats may be—there were some in his Nov. 3 speech—or no matter what slanders against them—there were also some in the same speech—or no matter what tortuous arguments he may use to isolate them politically, the Vietnamese people will remain unshakable. For they are confident in their own strength, in their just cause and in the support they are receiving from all progressive mankind!

U.S. President Nixon's Letter to President HO CHI MINH

(No date)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I realize that it is difficult to communicate meaningfully across the gulf of four years of war. But precisely because of this gulf, I wanted to take this opportunity to reaffirm in all solemnity my desire to work for a just peace. I deeply believe that the war in Viet Nam has gone on too long and delay in bringing it to an end can benefit no one—least of all the people of Viet Nam. My speech on May 14 laid out a proposal which I believe is fair to all parties. Other proposals have been made which attempt to give the people of South Viet Nam an opportunity to choose their own future. These proposals take into account the reasonable conditions of all sides. But we stand ready to discuss other programs as well, specifically the 10-point program of the NLF.

As I have said repeatedly, there is nothing to be gained by waiting. Delay can only increase the dangers and multiply the suffering.

The time has come to move forward at the conference table toward an early resolution of this tragic war. You will find us forthcoming and open-minded in a common effort to bring the blessings of peace to the brave people of Viet Nam. Let history record that at this critical juncture, both sides turned their face toward peace rather than toward conflict and war.

Sincerely
RICHARD NIXON

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SURGERY, WAR SURGERY, ORTHOPEDICS AND THE TREATMENT OF WAR AFTERMATHS

— Letter from Dr. Dang Kim Chau, head of the Osteology Section in the Vietnamese-German Friendship Hospital (Hanoi) to Drs. Do Xuan Giu and Nguyen Nhan Thuat (Saigon) *

Dear Giu and Thuat,

IT is quite a long time I have not heard from you. In the years past I have inquired after you on several occasions over the *Voice of Viet Nam*. This time I'm writing to you through the *Thong Nhat* (Reunification) with the hope that this letter will reach yourselves or some of your comrades who will eventually forward it to you.

All our surgeon friends who worked formerly in Phu Doan Hospital like Truong, Van, Hien, Xuan and myself are still here. Since 1956, this establishment has been provided with new equipment by the German Democratic Republic, hence its name: Vietnamese — German Friendship Hospital. Since 1955 I have taken up specialization and I am now in charge of war surgery and Orthopedics while giving lectures at the Hanoi Faculty of Medicine. I still remember the years when together we studied, worked as externs, interns, sat up whole nights and operated all day long. Fifteen years have gone by, so now all of us are already fifty-four or fifty-five years old... I wonder how you are getting on?

With our minds set on rapidly developing surgery, we are here doing quite a lot of work. Apart from tending patients, training students, and post-graduates, carrying out scientific research, we are advising the doctors in the provinces.

Formerly we only cared for our job in the hospital. Now we realize that medical work must serve the entire people from the provinces down to the villages. For instance, thanks to a network of village medical stations serviced by rural medical workers who know well the symptoms of appendicitis, stomach perforation, intestinal occlusion,... give timely first-aid to, and send, the abdominal urgencies to the districts and the provinces to be operated on and to convalesce, the mortality rate is reduced. Such surgical operations as inguinal hernia, vaginal hydrocile, injuries of soft parts... are satisfactorily dealt with in the district. As far the treatment of diseases and preventive hygiene are concerned, you can gauge the usefulness of village medical stations and maternity homes provided with practitioners in charge of the villagers' health. Each time we visit a district or a village, we are elated to notice the vigorous development of the medical branch geared to the service of the entire people, in the towns as well as in the countryside, in the plains as well as in the mountains. For me, that is the biggest change in comparison with the past.

A thing which makes Xuan and I feel proud of as a contribution to the struggle against US aggression is that we have toured almost all provinces in North Viet Nam right since 1965 to discuss with the local surgeons the treatment of war wounds, from the organization of first-aid to the operation and reanimation in the hospital. Late in 1968 and early in 1969 we again visited the Fourth Zone: Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh, Nghe An, Thanh Hoa — the worst hit provinces — to review the treatment of war injuries and organize the research on war aftermaths.

At Dong Hoi, Xuan and I have many a time performed operations in air-raid shelters together with the local surgeons. To give a timely attention to the patients — transportation is unthinkable of due to the enemy's fierce bombing — each district in the Fourth Zone has an operating room complete with means of reanimation and operative instruments.

Of course, owing to US raids we have met with many difficulties.

Even in the Vietnamese-German Friendship Hospital over the past years, as we had to scatter our patients and personnel, modern equipment had to be restricted. However, we were glad that in many places, records were well kept and patients well tended.

Every year, right in the Fourth Zone, we reviewed our work and drew on experiences. During our last tour in the Fourth Zone, in every province we met with all the surgeons, listened to their reports on first-aid and operations on various war wounds: shock, blast, pressure, cranio-encephalic, thoracic, abdominal, arm and leg injuries... then drew experiences to perform reviews and treatment.

I have noticed that after probation in the provincial hospitals our young surgeons have been able to carry out many complex operations (rupture of internal organs accompanied with fracture) and save their patients. In all provinces the ranks of surgeons have swollen. This allows us to give prompt first-aid and attend to the injuries on the spot without having to send the patients to Hanoi as in the past.

Following the review of war wounds over the last years and the research on war aftermaths, we are gradually operating on these right in the provinces. We are trying to do it quickly so that the patients can be discharged sooner.

To satisfactorily solve this problem right in the crucible of the US war of destruction, the Ministry of Health ordered all hospitals to deal with the war sequels. By the end of last year we made a plan of review, sent research samples to all places in the country in order to get precise data for an eventual solution. In April-May last we opened in the Vietnamese-German Friendship Hospital a course about operations on war sequels for the surgeons from the provinces. As far operations on bruises and orthopedics are concerned, we guided them on such complex cases as big bone graft, joint relocation, plastic surgery, diffuse arthritis. Meanwhile, assistant doctors and nurses also came to learn about kinesitherapy and massage, badly needed for the functional restoration of arms and legs. After discussions we decided that the patients should be treated in the provinces except for such difficult cases as fistulized cranio-encephalic injury, big bone loss... To restore the people to health, war sequels must be tackled. We hope that we can fulfil this difficult but glorious task.

Dear friends,

FOR nearly 15 years, carrying out the line on medical work, we have noticed a change in our professional ethics, a closer bond with the medical workers in the provinces, districts and villages. And we feel gratified when feeling that the patients are like our own relatives.

As for teaching and research work, right since the end of 1954 I have given lectures on anatomy in Vietnamese with the help of Dr. Do Xuan Hop (at present Vietnamese is used as a vehicle in all establishments of higher learning in North Viet Nam). Twice a month we meet under Dr Ton That Tung to discuss scientific problems. I have written a lot of teaching material. At the end of 1962 I published a 400-page book entitled *Treatment of Fractures*" together with many pamphlets on first-aid for civil defence.

My friends here have written articles for various French magazines that you may have already had. I have contributed several articles on the treatment of pseudo-arthroses, fracture of the vertebral column to the *Review of Orthopedics* and *A Week in the Hospitals*. I am sorry that I have not yet had the opportunity to send you this paper, especially the one in Vietnamese.

I want to write more but I must close now for the letter is already too long.

I am looking forward to the day when we shall meet again and together attend to the victims of war — a concern common to us all.

I wish you and your families good health and much happiness.

* *Inserted in the* Thong Nhat *(Reunification).*

TO THE READER

We are aware that there is much room for improvement in the wording of our paper. We apologize for this shortcoming and highly appreciate all your suggestions as they will help us to serve you more efficiently in future.

NIXON CAN NEVER GET OVER

the Difficulties Caused by the U.S. Neo-Colonialist Aggression in Viet Nam

THE Viet Nam war not only has brought on Nixon bitter military reverses, it has also accumulated unsurmountable difficulties of all kinds in his path.

COMPLETE IMPASSE OF NIXON'S UNREALIZABLE VIET NAM POLICY

"THE *Tet* offensive marked the watershed of the American effort. Henceforth, no matter how effective our actions, the prevalent strategy could no longer achieve its objectives within a period or with force levels politically acceptable to the American people." Such is in substance an assessment of the military situation in South Viet Nam, by the most influential of Nixon's advisers, Prof. Henry Kissinger, in an article in *Foreign Affairs* in January last.

Once in power, Nixon has tried to readjust the policy of the US imperialists with a view to carrying on their aggression in Viet Nam in conditions "acceptable" to the American people from the viewpoints of the scale of the fighting, the size of losses and that of war expenditures. The White House's Viet Nam policy at present is striving to find ways and means to surmount major difficulties and drag on the war until a solution advantageous to the United States has been achieved which allows expeditionary troops (or the bulk of them) to be brought home while maintaining South Viet Nam under a neo-colonialist regime. It is clear that it is not a policy to end the aggression and solve difficulties facing Washington as the US official propaganda has been endeavouring to make believe.

Various measures have been taken to this effect: the piecemeal withdrawals of GIs, and effort to limit as much as possible US battle casualties and to consolidate the puppet administration and army, and gradually to achieve "Vietnamization" of the war. On the diplomatic plane, demagogic methods have been used by Washington rulers to deceive American and world public opinions.

Nixon's deeds in the last ten months of his rule have shown that he has cynically eaten his word and is utterly unable to reach his goals.

During his election campaign, he promised to end rapidly Johnson's war, but once an inmate of the White House, it is the continuation of aggression that he has been devoting his energies, contending that to make public a plan to end the war would be detrimental to the cause of peace! Nixon's troop withdrawal, symbolical as it is, is but a safety valve designed to slow down the awakening of the American people's conscience. While proclaiming his "renunciation" of any military victory, Nixon has in fact been intensifying the war with a view to creating a position of strength. He was compelled to accept the Paris Conference with the participation of the South Viet Nam Provisional Revolutionary Government, but has been trying to keep in office the Thieu-Ky puppet administration. He has been boasting of his "respect" for the South Viet Nam people's right to self-determination, but has been refusing to remove the puppet apparatus imposed by the United States upon the people through "elections" which the American press itself denounced as fraudulent; he is bent upon staging again such a farce in turning down a provisional coalition government to be entrusted with the task of organizing really free elections, proposed by the NFL and the PRG. To put it in a nutshell, Nixon promised to seek a political settlement to the Viet Nam problem but he has been doing the opposite by laying down a condition unacceptable to any self-respecting people to the achievement of such a settlement: viz. to maintain neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam.

Nixon's policy has bogged the United States deeper and deeper into the quagmire of a losing war and it has forced upon the American people heavy, but useless sacrifices in money and human lives. That is the main cause of the protest waves which have been unfurling with increasing impetuosity throughout the United States, from coast to coast. The biggest American paper, the *New York Times*, reported in its October 6 issue, that quite a large number of politicians thought it was high time to denounce Nixon's Viet Nam policy.

The above-mentioned prime difficulty has generated a series of other difficulties which Nixon or any other politician treading on his path will not be able to wade through.

NO MILITARY STRATEGY AVAILABLE TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE SITUATION

DRIVEN onto the defensive on the battlefield, Nixon however is pursuing quite ambitious goals: he is seeking, on the one hand, to limit US casualties while creating a position of strength for the US side, and on the other to weaken the PLAF.

To keep down US casualties is a burning imperative to soothe the American people's anger and to heighten the expeditionary troops' ebbing morale. To weaken the PLAF is the *sine qua non* condition to consolidate the puppet apparatus and to put into effect the program of "Vietnamizing the war."

To this end, the US command has tightened its military disposition in the hope of strengthening it; it has brought into full play the fire-power of US air force, artillery and armour; it has mounted many operations by US forces to apply "maximum military pressure" on the enemy and increase the number of sweeps by puppet troops, etc.

But the results are far from meeting US expectations.

The operations to "apply pressure" have met with violent ripostes from the PLAF which inflicted biting losses on the adverse troops, as at A Bia nicknamed "Hamburger Hill" by panicky-stricken GIs in May last. Even in their bases, US troops are not immune to PLAF onsets, and neither B.52 nor systematic pounding by US artillery succeeded in forestalling the patriotic forces' offensives in February, May, June, August, etc... Puppet soldiers compelled to fight have been taking most heavy casualties and consequently their American counterparts have had to come to their rescue, which has finally resulted in severe losses for both of them.

The impasse of US military strategy is but the result of insoluble contradictions inherent in it. Indeed, how can the US aggressors who were beaten in their counter-offensive strategy, expect to win now that they have been driven onto the defensive? Forced to entrench themselves behind a hard "shell" to cut down losses, how can they weaken an enemy who is firmly holding the initiative? In such conditions how can they expect to prevent him from attacking them and to avoid casualties? To so many questions, neither the on-the-spot Abrams nor his superiors on the Potomac river can find adequate answers.

As for the PLAF fighters, they are operating freely on a terrain

PLAF men capturing puppet soldiers of the 25th Infantry Division at Dau Tieng (Nam Bo)

they know well in the smallest detail and in the midst of a population who are ready to give them the most fraternal help. They therefore can neutralize to the utmost all the forces of the enemy and deal at them staggering blows. To cite some examples, the important US bases at Dau Tieng, the Hon Quan "Centre Technique", Dong Du, Ben Tranh, etc... have been very heavily damaged, if not flattened, by the PLAF in spite of hundreds of thousands of bombs and shells poured on the latter.

This hopeless state of things in which the US military adventure in South Viet Nam finds itself is to be explained by the fact that the enemy's military and political ambition is disproportionate to his own real capabilities. No general in Washington or in Saigon can conceive a military strategy that may suit the requirements of the US imperialists, simply because such a strategy is inconceivable.

CONTINUATION OF THE COSTLIEST WAR IN US HISTORY

THE US aggression in Viet Nam absorbs US financial budgets as hot sand does water: over 100 billion dollars went down the river since the commitment *en masse* of US troops to Viet Nam in 1965, if Washington-disclosed figures are to be trusted. On April 28, 1968, Hubert Humphrey admitted in *Los Angeles Times* that this long-drawn, costly and painful war weighed heavily on the political situation and other priorities of the United States, gave rise to discontent and disorder and swallowed up resources necessary to domestic programs. A document in the Congressional Records of June 30, 1969 shows that the conflicts cost the US Government 110 billion dollars and that, even assuming a total withdrawal by Nixon of his troops by the end of 1970, the total expenditures of the Viet Nam adventure would be approximately 350 billion dollars for Washington, if account is taken of layouts in other chapters of the budget and financial handicaps resulting from the war.

It goes without saying that all this burden weighs on the US taxpayer who also has to pay his bloodtax. In fact, Nixon has decided to maintain up to early 1970 the 10% extra-tax, and to continue up to June 1970 to levy 5% on the taxes instituted by Johnson in 1968 to make up for the budget deficit created by the war The conflict has been detrimental to the economy and finances of "affluent" America: unbalance in foreign exchange, a menacing inflation, gold haemorrhage, price rise, etc... A deep impact can be felt by social programs and by the standard of living of labouring people.

The expenditures which Nixon has to agree to while continuing his war are like a noose around his neck:

(*Continued page 7*)

OUR UNCLE HO

MEETING HIM IN PARIS

Told by BUI LAM

(Concluded)

I called on him again at eight o'clock next morning. Nguyen was awaiting me, in the same black coarse cloth suit. We went out for a stroll. We wandered through many streets and along the very long Monges Street. I noticed that he wore old ankle boots with very sturdy heels, the kind of shoes that wear well. We chatted while walking. About an hour later he led me to an art exhibition. Truly, I was then very young and knew nothing of painting, so I did not enjoy the visit. But it was a pleasure to be with him. There were hundreds of pictures and a very big crowd at the exhibition. Nguyen was well-known there. Many people came to shake hands with him or nodded greetings to him. He looked at the pictures very long and very carefully, exchanging comments with his French friends. His comments showed that he had a good knowledge of art and French culture. I remember that Nguyen looked time and again at a picture by Vaillant Couturier. A few years later when I worked at the printing-house of the capitalist Danjon, which printed *l'Humanité* and *Viet Nam Soul* I often met Vaillant Couturier. He was a genuine intellectual, an unassuming, learned and hearty man who paid great attention to the colonies. Only then did I know that he was Nguyen's intimate friend. We spent two hours at the exhibition until eleven. The Pantheon was just opposite the exhibition so we went there for a while. Nguyen took me to a Chinese restaurant in Des Carmes Street. We had fish sauce, beef sauté with shoots of soya beans. I had a good appetite as it was a very long time since I had eaten the familiar dishes of my native country. After the meal we walked home.

In his room, Nguyen unrolled his mat on the floor, put two piles of books as pillows then we both lay down to have a rest. He told me about his living. In the morning he made portraits for a shop on piece-work and earned just enough to live from hand to mouth. His life was even harder than ours who were paid a monthly wage. Yet he managed to save a part of his earnings for the printing of books and *Le Paria*. In the afternoon he worked at *Le Paria* office, writing and correcting articles. He also wrote for other newspapers and magazines such as *l'Humanité*, *Vie ouvrière*. The staff members of *Le Paria* were all colonial people engaged in revolutionary activities who came to work at *Le Paria* office in their spare-time. That was the reason why I did not find any door-keeper or typist at the office. In the evening Nguyen went to clubs to take part in debates on philosophical, economic, political, social and cultural matters or to the National Library. Besides, he attended meetings of the street cell of the French Communist Party. Though very busy he always went out for a walk or visited exhibitions on Sundays. On my next journey to Paris he again took me to an art exhibition and to the Louvre museum. He knew Paris very well, particularly the suburbs where the factories and the living quarters of the workers were situated. These suburbs are linked to one another to make a circle, called by the French "the red belt" as they were under the influence of the French Communist Party. Nguyen was active and met the workers here.

Late in the afternoon, I took leave of him. Among many things he advised before my departure, I was impressed and constantly remembered these words, "Always bear in mind the task of an enslaved people. We must love and unite with each other. We must also unite with the French workers and people, and the colonial people. We are all poor people, equally oppressed and exploited."

On my return to Le Havre my friends came to see me. I told them everything and they were very delighted. After that, following Nguyen's advice, we introduced newspapers into the home country and to places where there were Vietnamese residents such as New Caledonia and the Reunion islands. We subscribed to a fund to support *Le Paria* and bought hundreds of copies of *Le Paria*, *L'Humanité* and *Le Bolchevik* to send to the home country. Once on a journey to the Martinique I concealed on board three natives of that country who slipped back to their homeland without the knowledge of the police. To smuggle newspapers and people were easy things to us, seamen.

In April 1923, my ship again cast anchor at Le Havre. I hurried to see Nguyen. I missed him very much during my journeys. At that time the workers' movement which had started in 1919 was still seething. Tens of thousands of workers in Le Havre area were on strike for months and had bloody clashes with the police. In our country the French imperialists intensified their exploitation and deepened the impoverishment of our people. River dikes were broken and famine followed famine. Driven to utter poverty and bankruptcy, people had to hire themselves out as workers in rubber plantations in South Viet Nam and in New Caledonia. During that time, French ships carried our rice to France without cease. We were distressed that our compatriots were dying of starvation while our rice was being robbed by the colonialists. I made up my mind to talk about it to Nguyen.

I went to Gobelins Street but Nguyen was out. I rushed to the newspaper office. He was chatting with an African unknown to me. When catching sight of me, he smiled, shook hands with me and introduced me to the African whose name was Seigho. My first word was to inform Nguyen that *Le Paria* was regularly conveyed to our country. Nguyen's face beamed with joy. He told me to strive to do better. Then he took me home. He inquired about my health and that of the seamen in Le Havre, of the situation in the various places I had called at recently and in the home country. His sympathetic and intimate attitude was that of an elder brother. He sat motionless and speechless for a long time when I spoke of the colonialists robbing our rice and our compatriots dying of starvation.

For the first time I learned that the next room was occupied by one of our countrymen, lawyer Phan Van Truong*. It seemed that Nguyen's room was given over by the lawyer. Phan was a patriotic intellectual who also sought to know communism but was rather a book learner while Nguyen was a theoretician and fighter who went deep into the toiling masses. Later I met Phan by himself. He showed great admiration for Nguyen. He said to me, "Once Albert Sarraut, the former Governor-General of Indo-China, now Minister of the Colonies, a leading colonialist, summoned Nguyen to his office. Clenching his teeth, the minister thrust out his hand, closed it and made a twist meaning that he wanted to smash his opponent, saying: "France has enough power to punish her adversaries."

In spite of the threats, Nguyen went on with his activities. When the minister tried to buy him, Nguyen told him in his face, "I have no need for 'privileges'. I can earn my living by work; I do not want anything, I only claim for national independence." The all-powerful Albert Sarraut was shamefaced but was powerless against Nguyen who had our people, the colonial peoples and particularly the French people and the French Communist Party on his side."

My ship was often at sea. There was a time I could rarely go to Paris and only wrote to him from time to time. In a letter I asked him, "I've read books which often mention Marx. I do not know who he is. Do tell me about him." I received his letter soon in which he not only spoke of Marx but also of Marxism, advising me to read more Marxist books. After that I read them. When meeting difficult words I looked them up in the dictionary or wrote to Nguyen asking for explanations.

In June 1924, the French Communist Party presented Nguyen together with its leaders, Marcel Cachin and Vaillant Couturier, as candidates for the election to the National Assembly. The list of these candidates was published in the press and posted on street-corners. We were overjoyed and stopped where lists of communist candidates were posted. In reading the name Nguyen Ai Quoc we felt as if we were reading the name of our proletariat, of our people, of Viet Nam. In presenting Nguyen for Parliament, the French Communist Party meant to say that the French working class was united with the colonial working class in the struggle against the common enemy – capitalism. To enter the capitalist National Assembly was not an aim in itself but only to unmask the capitalists. That was the first time the French Communist Party stood by itself for Parliament and won one million two hundred votes out of five million votes. As a matter of fact, Nguyen could not enter the French National Assembly as he was not a French citizen.

The last time I met Nguyen in France was at the end of 1923. I joined the French Communist Party in 1925. I went to Paris and came to Nguyen's office to look for him and heard that he was "absent" and that he had moved to number 9, Compoint Impasse. I went there. The landlord also shook his head saying that he was away from home. Thus it happened at other times. It came out in the end that Nguyen had left France long before. I had hundreds of friends in Paris but now that Nguyen was not there, the French capital seemed a desert to me. Every time I went to number 6, Gobelins Street, to see Phan Van Truong and saw Nguyen's room I missed him very much. My mind went back to the old days when I awkwardly came to see him, to the warm atmosphere of our first meeting, to his voice, his smile, his bearing and his eyes. As a seaman I was used to partings yet I felt sad when thinking of him.

Later I got to know that Nguyen went to the Soviet Union at the end of 1923 when the Communist International convened its Fifth Congress. As a member of the Department for the colonies in the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, Nguyen was sent to the Congress and made a statement on the question of liberation of the colonies. His statement was recorded in the minutes of proceeding of that Congress. At that time Lenin was seriously ill. On Nguyen's arrival in Moscow, Lenin was dead. The Congress was postponed to July 1924.

Mid 1929. On his way home from the Soviet Union, Tran Phu stopped in Paris. He was entrusted by the Communist International with the task of seeing Nguyen and of handing over to him its appeal for unification sent to the Vietnamese communist groups. One day, he went with me to visit the tombs of the fighters of the Paris Commune. Tran Phu told me that he first heard of the great cause of the fighters of the Paris Commune from Nguyen at the Wang Po Military College. I thought to myself, "Nguyen trains fighters wherever he goes. What would have happened to me had I not met him?" I remembered that the day I left the home country I made up my mind never to return to my homeland. I experienced pain and shame but was at a loss as to what to do. I met Nguyen. He reminded me of the task of an enslaved man, pointed out to me the right path for national liberation which is closely linked to the path for class liberation. Then, thanks to the help of my friends, of the workers and of the French Communist Party I became a communist. After that, day and night, I was haunted by a great desire to go back to my native country at any cost and to carry out the task of an enslaved man and of a communist.

At the end of that year, I returned home.

* Phan Van Truong (1878-1933): *a patriotic intellectual who co-operated with Nguyen Ai Quoc in writing the* Viet-nam Soul *published in France. Back in the home country he was editor of the newspaper* Annam *which published the Communist Manifesto for the first time in Viet Nam to propagate revolutionary ideas.*

52nd Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (Nov. 7, 1969)

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION – THE GREATEST VICTORY OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN HUMAN HISTORY

THE October Revolution is the greatest victory of revolutionary struggle in human history. The October Revolution opened a new era: the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. Bringing into full play the valiant tradition of the October Revolution, the Soviet people have in the past 52 years fought tirelessly, advanced continually and recorded tremendous achievements.

They have smashed the armed intervention by the imperialists, defended the fruits of the October Revolution and consolidated the Soviet State. Afterwards, they successfully completed the five-year plans, realized the socialist industrialization, making the Soviet Union ever stronger and bringing out the absolute superiority of the socialist system. The glorious victory of the heroic Soviet army and people in defeating the German fascists during World War Two, saving mankind at the hand of fascism and creating favourable objective conditions for the strong development of the socialist revolutionary movement and the national revolutionary movement in the world.

Since the end of the war, the Soviet people have recorded tremendous achievements in rehabilitating their war-ravaged economy, continued their economic and cultural development, strengthened their national defence forces and completed the building of socialism and are successfully laying the material and technical foundations of communism.

The constant evolution and the extremely great achievements in all fields of the Soviet Union constitute a most important contribution to the strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp and to the defence of world peace and a support and encouragement of the movement for liberation of the working class and oppressed peoples in the world.

With immense joy, the Vietnamese people warmly hail the huge achievements of the brother Soviet people. Our people deeply understand President Ho Chi Minh's words: "The more they recall the humiliation of the days under foreign domination, the more they recall each step on the revolutionary road full of sacrifices and hardships but also full of glorious victories, the more the Vietnamese working class and people appreciate the great services rendered by Lenin and the October Revolution."

The Soviet Union has been staunchly supporting and assisting the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. She has reserved for us great economic and technical assistance in our socialist construction in the North. Since the US imperialists sent their troops to invade South Viet Nam and launched a war of destruction against North Viet Nam, the CPSU and the Soviet Government and people have given our people strong support and great economic and military assistance to help us defeat the US aggressors.

The joint communiqué on the Soviet visit of the Viet Nam Party and Government delegation headed by Premier Pham Van Dong pointed out: "The Soviet Union declares its readiness to give to the fraternal Vietnamese people all necessary assistance till the complete victory of their just struggle to liberate the South, defend the North and peacefully reunify the country, and in the carrying out of plans for socialist construction in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Soviet Union fully supports the ten-point overall solution of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and considers this a correct basis for a political settlement of the Viet Nam problem, resolutely demands that the US end its aggression and withdraw completely and unconditionally its troops and troops of its satellites from South Viet Nam."

Large sections of the Soviet people are supporting Viet Nam: cadres, workers, employees, farmers, students, intellectuals, women and armymen. Under most variegated forms, the Soviet people have always shown a great sympathy and given a staunch support to the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

ON the occasion of the 52nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Vietnamese people send their most sincere thanks and warmest greetings to the Soviet people, they wish that under the leadership the CPUS the Soviet people will record ever greater and more brilliant successes in the building of material and technical bases of communism and in the struggle for world peace and the independence of nations.

Celebrations of Soviet Union National Day in Viet Nam

– On November 6, President of the DRVN Ton Duc Thang; Le Duan, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly; and Premier Pham Van Dong sent a warm congratulatory message to the Soviet Party and State leaders: L. Brezhnev, Secretary General of the C.C. of the CPSU; N. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; and A. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

– On the evening of Nov. 6, a grand commemorative rally presided over by Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the DRVN National Assembly, was held in Hanoi, under the sponsorship of the C.C of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Viet Nam-USSR Friendship Association and the DRVN Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

– A Soviet film week, a photo exhibition and talks on the remarkable achievements recorded by the brother Soviet people in the conquest of the cosmos and in communist construction have been organized in Hanoi.

– Viet Nam Radio broadcast a special program and the Hanoi press carried special articles on the 52nd founding anniversary of the Soviet Union.

16th INDEPENDENCE DAY OF THE KINGDOM OF CAMBODIA (NOVEMBER 9, 1969)

GREETING TO INDEPENDENT, NEUTRAL AND PEACEFUL CAMBODIA

FOR many years, the US imperialists have been intervening in, and committing aggression against, Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos with every means, in an attempt to turn them into US new-type colonies and military bases and to stamp out the national liberation movement in that region.

With regard to Cambodia, the US imperialists have stopped at no perfidy and wile to force her to give up her policy of peace and neutrality. While many countries in the world have formally recognized the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her present borders, the US and its Saigon and Bangkok satellites refuse to do so; instead they continue to regard Cambodia as a country with no definite borders for aggressive purposes. From Thailand and South Viet Nam, they have repeatedly provoked Cambodia, dastardly strafed and massacred civilians on the borderland and made preparations to bring the war into her territory in an attempt to wriggle out of their South Viet Nam predicament.

In face of the Americans' and their lackeys' criminal activities, the unyielding patriotic Cambodians, farsightedly led by their Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, have staged spirited protest demonstrations; their army has put up a valiant defence and foiled all armed attacks of the Yankees, the Saigon and Bangkok valets and the "Khmer Serei". Many American planes have been shot down, many GIs and mercenary troops have been captured.

While having to cope daily with a cruel and perfidious enemy, the Cambodian government, the People's Socialist Community (Sangkum Reastr Niyum) and the Cambodian people, relying on their own strength, in keeping with the "Cambodia helps herself" line, and on the assistance afforded by friendly countries, have been striving to build up a sovereign economy and a national culture. Formerly a country with a subordinate economy and a virtually non-existent industry, Cambodia now boasts many industrial enterprises, the cornerstone of her national industry, which can partly meet home requirements and export needs. Her former mono-culture and autarchic agriculture has been transformed and achieved substantial progress and prosperity. The State banking and foreign trade structure is in the making. The cultural educational and health services have recorded signal achievements.

The Cambodian people can rightly pride themselves on those successes in national defence and construction.

The Vietnamese people and Cambodian people have a common enemy – US imperialism – ,the same aim – national independence and freedom – and the same aspiration – the strengthening of good neighbourhood relations, friendship and everlasting co-operation on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence; they therefore constantly help and encourage each other.

The DRVN Government and people fully support the policy of peace, and unswervingly respect the neutrality, of the Kingdom of Cambodia. It has declared and reaffirmed respect of the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her present borders. The Vietnamese people strongly condemn the US imperialists and their South Vietnamese and Thai stooges, provocations against the Cambodian borderland. They wholeheartedly support the Cambodian Royal Government and people's legitimate struggle for independence and freedom.

In their fight against the Yankees to save their country, the Vietnamese people are very glad about the active and warm support of Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and the Cambodian Government and people. The establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level between Cambodia and the Republic of South Viet Nam and the warm welcome given by the Prince Head of State and Royal Government of Cambodia to the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam headed by President Huynh Tan Phat during its friendship visit to Cambodia are vivid illustrations of the friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of Cambodia and Viet Nam. We were much moved by the words full of heartfelt feeling uttered by Head of State Norodom Sihanouk when he and his delegation were attending President Ho Chi Minh's funeral in Hanoi at the beginning of September 1969: "I wish to reaffirm the unstinted support of Cambodia to Viet Nam's sound position on the re-establishment of peace. I make it emphatically clear that that support goes to the DRVN four points urging that the US government withdraw its troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds from South Viet Nam, dismantle its military bases there and put an end to its intervention and aggression in South Viet Nam; that the affairs of South Viet Nam be settled by her people without outside interference; that the reunification of Viet Nam

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Poulo Condor, A South Viet Nam Devil's Island

ONE of the most sinister places on earth is incontestably the Poulo Condor jail in South Viet Nam. In the French time, it had already earned the fame of a hell on earth. And the Americans, efficiently helped by their valets, have succeeded in adding to its horror. On this islet of about 30 square kilometres are detained some 10,000 prisoners, 8,000 of them for "political" reason, term denoting all those who have not had the good fortune to please the Saigon hangmen.

A real slow-death camp, Poulo Condor has been entirely put under the sway of assassins in uniform whose delight in murder and sadism defies comprehension. The detainees, divided into three distinct categories, are subjected to an awful penitentiary regime which is bound to transform them into wretches.

Those condemned to solitary confinement are shut up in total darkness. Their feet fettered, their daily food ration consisting of two bowls of bad quality rice, and furthermore forced into immobility, the unfortunate are prey to scorbutus, festering wounds and paralysis, and succumb regularly after a few years' detention.

Those condemned to hard labour toil 12 hours a day round the year. Inadequate food and ill-treatment exhaust them rapidly. Fire wood gathering is one of the most dreaded jobs. Each detainee must fetch 0.8 cubic metre of fire wood daily from the mountain and carry the stuff back on his back. The slopes are steep, the loads are heavy, and falls are frequent and provide the occasion for the guards to give those who have tumbled a good pummelling. Dock work is no less strenuous. Shift of 12 straight hours, either by day or by night, unloading at an accelerated tempo under the close watch of club wielding sbirros, everything has been planned to rapidly drain off what remains of the detainees' strength. Winter or summer, day or night, teams of divers have to plunge into the sea to fish coral for the camp authorities, in addition to the many hard jobs. Each detainee is given daily 600 grammes of rice with a little fish sauce and per year 400 grammes of vegetables in 4 instalments and 300 grammes of meat in 2 instalments. And this starvation diet is intended to get the better of the sturdiest men in a few years.

The 3rd category consists of detainees punished for most diverse reasons. They are confined to what are commonly called "tiger cages". These are underground cells 1.8 metres in length, 1.5 metres in width and 2 metres in height, closed by a perforated iron plate serving as air holes. The inmates are treated like beasts: 2 bowls of rice daily, a litre of water for 5, chaining of feet, regular beating before each meal. The weekly bath is reduced to some buckets of water poured down through the air holes, to say nothing of the sadistic fancies of the warders with fertile imagination. Lime water in summer, icy water in winter. The latter vie in ingenuity to devise original penalties. In the first 3 quarters of 1969, 109 political prisoners died in "tiger cages" and 90 others were reported missing. At present there remain 600 in these underground cells of ineluctable death. All are indomitable patriots who have faced up to the hangmen and refused degrading jobs.

Physical tortures are compounded by mental tortures: salute to the puppet colours, display of deference to authorities, renunciation of political convictions, subversion, brain-washing, etc... Not a few detainees have shed their blood to defend their right to remain thinking men and have not allowed their conscience to be offended, and as a penalty, have been subjected to the most abject indignities.

To make their supervision system more effective, from 1,200 to 1,500 common offenders chosen among the toughest are mingled with political prisoners. Employed as "Kapos" or spies, they police the rooms and constitute a ring of unpaid informers for authorities.

In September last, materials were made ready for the construction of a new prison for 10,000 other detainees.

In spite of the distance and the tight veil of secrecy strictly kept on the penitentiary regime, public opinion has begun to see the truth. "Deputies" have raised their voices against the inhuman practices prevailing at Poulo Condor. A protest movement is taking shape against these crimes which at least could be said to be marked with the stamp of reprisals against opponents of the Saigon regime falling into its hands. Demands are being made for authorization of visits, release of untried detainees and annulment of illegal sentences.

The scandal of Thu Duc jail and the heinous crimes perpetrated at Poulo Condor have laid bare the fascist nature of the Saigon regime which the Nixon administration is defending against wind and tides for the murderers, however, the punishment is near. The popular storm will, for certain, sweep the US puppets off the South Viet Nam stage.

Nixon Can Never Get Over the Difficulties...

(Continued from page 4)

the further he goes, the tighter the noose strangles his throat.

NO HOPE TO VAMP UP THE PUPPETS WHILE WITHDRAWING US TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIET NAM

NIXON cannot completely ignore the pressing demand of the American people for the repatriation of GIs from Viet Nam, and he has laid down a term for its satisfaction: he should be given enough time to enable his puppets to keep South Viet Nam within US orbit. Hence his decision to pull out the expeditionary troops only after vamping up the puppet army. That is tantamount to running after two rabbits that are scampering away in opposite directions. The most elementary reasoning will show that if 1,250,000 GIs armed to the teeth and other mercenaries of all stripes (1,476,500 in all, according to *US News and World Report* on Sept. 29, 1969) have got sound beatings, how can the puppet army left to shift for itself prove a match to the PLAF, even though it is beefed up to the problematic figure of one million troops and equipped with all the weaponry left behind by the US expeditionary corps. Recent facts on the battlefields have confirmed this truth and one has but to refer to the dismal situation of the 18th Infantry Division, the 3rd armoured Regiment and the river flottila units which were crack puppet units provided profusely with new weapons and intensely trained in US tactics and techniques, after they have received blows at the hands of the PLAF. That is the main reason why Nguyen Van Thieu had to implore on Oct. 6 his protectors to stay in South Viet Nam up to an indefinite date.

The "face-lifting" of the puppet "government" was another thankless job. This "government" survives only as a result of US aggression and it is utterly corrupt precisely because it is a tool for that aggression. Everyone, including some members of the American government, acknowledges that without the US expeditionary troops, the puppet "government" would collapse within 24 hours. The inner dissensions and rottenness of the ruling clique and the pro-US reactionary politicians in Saigon are the reflection, on the one hand, of the aggressive nature of Washington's Viet Nam policy, and, on the other, of the setbacks inflicted by the Vietnamese people upon the aggressors and their strawmen. For over 15 years, the US imperialists have been to no avail trying to set up a viable puppet apparatus. There is no reason why they should succeed in so doing in their present fix.

The plan to "withdraw GIs while revamping the puppets", being that unrealistic, supplies only a further proof of the total impasse of the neo colonialist policy pursued by the White House and of the criminal obstinacy of those who advocate such a policy.

TIME IS AGAINST NIXON

NIXON has to race against time. He has promised to his electors to end rapidly the "limited war" unleashed three and a half years back. But in continuing the neo-colonialist aggressive policy of his predecessors, he finds himself incapable of consolidating the puppet apparatus. "De-Americanization" of the war is hanging fire and the withdrawal of GIs has become a story with no end. Johnson's war has become Nixon's. The longer it drags on, the worse the US home situation and the more it is isolated internationally. Meanwhile, opposition to Nixon grows, antagonism tear apiece Washington's ruling circles and the chances of success shrink for Nixon and his friends at the coming elections in 1970 and even at the 1972 presidential elections. Although people like Melvin Laird have trumpeted that time is working in favour of Nixon, everybody thinks the opposite.

NIXON is now facing an unsurmountable wall of difficulties and dilemmas. Compared with his predecessor, he is in a worse position since not only did he inherit all the difficulties from Johnson which he is unable to solve, but he has also brought upon himself new ones. What he has got on his shoulders is the overall resultant of all mistakes heaped in all fields in the Viet Nam problem by the US imperialists whose representative at the summit of power he is at present. The origin of those difficulties lies in the policy of aggression of the United States in Viet Nam. So long as Nixon does not give up this policy, as is transparent in his recent November 3 speech, they will bank up on his path, which is the path to total defeat.

Greeting to...

(Continued from page 6)

be the concern of the population in both zones without outside interference. We also fully back the principles and essential content of the overall solution proposed by the South Viet Nam NFL and Provisional Revolutionary Government which we consider to be the only likely basis for an accord putting an end to the war in South Viet Nam."

HAILING the 16th Independence Day of the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Vietnamese people sincerely wish the Kingdom of Cambodia led by Head of State Norodom Sihanouk greater and greater successes.

True to the policy of strengthening the solidarity and friendly relations between the three Indo-Chinese countries set forth by President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people will do their best to consolidate and develop these relations, to bring the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples closer in the fight against US imperialism and for the peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

Latest News

■ 2 puppet companies completely wiped out and 1 battalion decimated in Duc Lap region (Nov. 4 and 5).

■ According to Western agencies, on the night of Nov.6 the PLAF attacked:

– 2 police stations in Saigon 7th District (with the participation of hundreds of guerillas); heavy adverse losses;

– 2 positions assaulted at Vung Tau: 70 enemy casualties;

– A regimental CP in Duc Lap region;

– 68 military targets (including 12 provincial and district capitals) by artillery shelling.

NFL Leader Addresses American People, and GIs and US Progressives in South Viet Nam

LAWYER Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the South Viet Nam NFL and of the Advisory Council to Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, sent on October 28, 1969 a message to the American people and on October 31 another to the GIs and US progressives in South Viet Nam, reported *Giai Phong* Press Agency.

In the first message, he paid homage to American citizens who courageously upheld the genuine interests and honour of their nation by raising aloft the banner of freedom and democracy during the unprecedentedly vigorous fall offensive against US aggression in Viet Nam. He conveyed to them warm fraternal greetings from the South Vietnamese people.

After denouncing the Nixon administration's prosecution and stepping up of the war, the message reaffirmed that so long as the US government did not put an end to the war in South Viet Nam, the people there would continue to exercize their inviolable right to self-defence and go on fighting until genuine independence, freedom and peace were achieved. With the staunch support of progressives in the US and of peace-loving people in the world, this struggle will end with success, the message stressed.

In the message to the GIs and US progressives in South Viet Nam who protested against Nixon's war in the October campaign, President Nguyen Huu Tho declared among other things:

"We, South Vietnamese, know how to distinguish US progressives from US warmongers and aggressors.

"Our just struggle for our country's independence and freedom and that of progressives of the United States for peace, justice are closely linked to each other, and helpfully assist each other.

"I believe that for your country's honour, for the happiness of your families, and in your own interests, you will actively join in the November 15 and December 15 campaigns, and other campaigns, to compel the Nixon administration to meet your aspiratson for peace in Viet Nam and the return of the US expeditionary army.

"Act upon the dictate of your conscience. No order can send you to the battlefield to commit more crimes such as massacring civilians and devastating the land of South Viet Nam. No power can force you to give your lives for the "commitment" to maintain the puppet Thieu-Ky-Khiem administration, which the entire South Vietnamese people are seeking to overthrow.

"Complete victory belongs to the just struggle jointly waged by the Vietnamese people and progressives of the United States against the Nixon administration's obdurate continuation of the war!"

Saigon Regime on the Verge of Collapse

ON October 30, 1969, exactly six years after the dictatorial regime of Ngo Dinh Diem had been overthrown, Nguyen Van Thieu, the puppet president in Saigon, went on the air and in a tearful voice, promised to step down "should the people no longer trust" him! This tragi-comedy was a new indication of the critical situation of a stooge regime in service of a losing war of aggression of US imperialism, faced with utter isolation before the revolutionary storm of the South Vietnamese people. Recent developments in Saigon have supplied further omens.

To get more money for the war and check spiralling inflation which has been a permanent threat to the very existence of their regime, the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique has been forced to increase taxes levied on more than 1,000 items of consumers goods. This has led to the soaring of commodity prices in all towns and cities in South Viet Nam and fanned up the anger of all strata of the population, including the major part of the puppet administration and army. The legal press in Saigon has also raised strong criticisms. Trade union organizations in many towns have declared their readiness for a general strike. The unrest in the streets has found repercussions in the Saigon Parliament. Under public pressure, virtually all the members of the Upper House (84 among 85) and the Lower House (65 among 76) have protested against these anti-popular economic measures. A vote of non-confidence in the Tran Thien Khiem cabinet is being sought by members of both houses.

Meanwhile, some personalities in the Saigon political circles have become more active and come out openly against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem trio. They have urged "a completely new social order" and criticized the US policy of continuing the war and sticking to its present agents. They have openly referred to a non-aligned regime for South Viet Nam At the same time, many political organizations of overseas Vietnamese, in France more particularly, have also issued statements condemning the US and the South Viet Nam puppets. Rumours of an imminent coup are gaining currency in Saigon, adding to the atmosphere of instability of the Thieu regime.

The new political upheavals took place just at a moment when Washington was gearing up its machinery for Nixon's "Vietnamization of the war program" and doing all it can to put the puppet administration back on its feet to "assume an increasing share of responsibility" in its master's war. To rally political forces and build a prop for a stable government in Saigon has been the prime objective of the emergency plan of Washington, and Nguyen Van Thieu has been told to strive in that direction. After vainly seeking support from the various political factions in South Viet Nam, in April last Thieu gave birth to a "front" comprising six groups which command no or negligible influence on the masses. But, within this "front" a bitter power struggle erupted right after its creation, since most of the leaders of the component political parties or factions refused to be merely scapegoats for Thieu. The cabinet reshuffle, after many months of propaganda, was effected at the end of October with the avowed objective of increasing the "representative" and "democratic" character of the regime. General Tran Thien Khiem, "a prominent figure in the Can Lao Nhan Vi" (Labour and Personalism) Party of the defunct despot Ngo Dinh Diem and a close associate of his, finally was chosen to head the government. Many other generals were assigned key posts in the new cabinet. This has only exacerbated the conflict between the lackeys of the US in Saigon, especially between the leaders of political factions in Nguyen Van Thieu's front, who everybody knows have joined it with great personal ambitions.

At the end of October, one of these groups which styled itself "Viet Nam Social-Democratic Party" officially broke away from Thieu's alliance. Many other groups are said to be preparing for similar moves. This will inevitably face Thieu's "front" with the danger of complete disbandment, thus further weakening the already tottering foundation of the Saigon regime.

The Saigon ruling circles heaved a deep sigh of relief after listening to Nixon's speech on November 3 in which the US President underscored the US policy of going ahead with the "Vietnamization of the war" program, refusal to withdraw speedily and completely US troops from South Viet Nam, and continued reliance on the present puppet clique to drag out the war. However, people are seriously questioning the wisdom of such a policy in the light of the present situation when the revolutionary storm is strongly shaking the Thieu regime right on the narrow stretches of land under the control of the US and puppets, when the People's Liberation Army is pressing its attacks on the last refuges of the aggressors and traitors.

MILITARY OPERATIONS

⊙ *Throughout October:*

— **PLAF Repeated Attacks from 17th Parallel to Ca Mau Cape.**

— **Initial Reports from 15 out of 44 Provinces: 5,000 Enemy Casualties.**

⊙ *Beginning of November:*

— **A US Artillery Base Assaulted and 3 Other Hastily Evacuated, 6 Big Guns Seized Undamaged.**

FALLING back onto the strategic defensive in urban centres and along strategic communication lines, in October the enemy continued to carry out sporadic actions in an attempt to loosen the adverse grip and "pacify" his rear. The areas of Tri-Thien (provinces of Quang Tri and Thua Thien lying between the 17th parallel and the Cloud Pass southeast of Hue) and of Da Nang, the Western High Plateaux, the area of the fronts in the north, northeast, northwest and southeast of Saigon as well as the Mekong Delta were the sites of main victories of the PLAF. The latter foiled enemy sweeps and stormed and shelled at least 300 bases, posts, airfields and military depots.

According to the information released by *Giai Phong* Press Agency up to Nov. 7 military operations in October can be summed up as follows:

In **Tri-Thien** region in the first 20 days of October, the enemy harassed along Highway No 9 linking Dong Ha to Khe Sanh and Laos, around Hue and the urban centres lying on Highway No 1 running along the seacoast, took over 1,000 casualties.

In **Da Nang** region, **Quang Nam, Quang Tin** and **Quang Ngai** provinces, 700 adverse troop swere put out of action in the first ten days of October.

In the **Western High Plateaux**, the patriotic forces exacted a toll of over 2,000 enemy lives in the same month. From Oct. 24 to Nov. 1, the enemy battle losses were 1,100 men wiped out, 9 aircraft downed, 36 military vehicles and 11 cannons captured or destroyed, and 6 petrol tanks burnt by the PLAF.

Mention should be made of the PLAF onsets begun on Oct. 28 in the sector lying between **Bu Prang** (178km north-northeast of Saigon) and **Due Lap** (35 km northeast of that city). The enemy suffered heavy losses especially on Nov. 1 when a US base on Hill 936, 4 km south of Bu Prang, was raided. The patriots captured six 105 and 155mm cannons and many dozen tons of shells. Two other US bases not far from Bu Prang were hastily evacuated under the threat of annihilation. On Nov. 2, 9 choppers were grounded south of Duc Lap. Enemy losses in these sectors from Oct. 28 to Nov. 4: 525 men (91 GIs), 3 companies put out of action, 9 cannons, 8 military vehicles, 7 logistic depost destroyed, 24 aircraft downed, and 50 firearms (6 big guns) seized by the PLAF.

On the protecting belt southeast of **Saigon**, whole enemy companies were knocked out: a puppet company south of **Long Binh** on Oct. 10 and a Thai company at **Suoi Da**, Ba Ria province on Oct. 13. Northwest of Saigon, on Oct. 24, a fierce battle took place near **Trang Bang** in which 3 US companies hard hit suffered heavy losses despite air and artillery cover.

In the first half of October, in the **Mekong Delta**, 3,200 enemy troops were disabled in the provinces lying along the arms of that river. On the night of Oct. 4 alone, the PLAF struck at 3 provincial capitals (My Tho, Moc Hoa and Ben Tre), 14 subsector CPs and 15 posts.

In the southernmost part of the country (**Ca Mau** and **Rach Gia** provinces) an enemy clearing operation was fought off in the first ten days of October: 700 men of puppet Infantry Division 21 put out of action.

Furthermore, Western agencies reported that in the closing days of October and beginning November, the PLAF had hammered at many airfields such as Ai Tu (Quang Tri), Nuoc Man (Da Nang), Nha Trang, Dakto, Pleiku, Ban Me Thuot, Dau Tieng, Ca Mau..., wrecking dozens of enemy aircraft.